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THE FIRST STATEWIDE CONFERENCE

TO:

- *consider causes*
- *present known facts*
- *assess problems*

related to

CHILDREN BORN OUT OF WEDLOCK

BACKGROUND PAPERS



sponsored by

THE GOVERNOR'S COUNCIL FOR HUMAN SERVICES

J.W.
APRIL 30, 1965

ZEMBO MOSQUE - HARRISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

"A child is a child, but much of the quality and richness of his life's relationships may be forged at the start by the circumstances into which he is born. Whether or not his parents are married to each other can have a profound effect on the shape of his future in many spheres, including the scope of his legal rights."

By special permission of the
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Welfare Administration, Children's Bureau
the quotation above and the articles on
"Legal Protections for the Unmarried Mother and Her Child,"
"The School and Unmarried Mothers," and excerpts from
"Some Facts and Observations about Illegitimacy,"
"Gaps in Services to Unmarried Mothers,"
"Casework Services for Unmarried Fathers," and
"The Community's Part in Preventing Illegitimacy"
are reprinted from the Symposium on
"Unmarried Parents - what is and is not being done about them"
in CHILDREN, Volume 10, Number 2, March-April 1963

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
GOVERNOR'S COUNCIL FOR HUMAN SERVICES

WILLIAM W. SCRANTON
Governor

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Chairman

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They [unmarried mothers] need something as simple and as wonderful as human interest. They need someone strong enough to share the responsibility they cannot carry, to give the direction they lack, and to provide the structure which can put controls on their destructive behavior and encourage what strengths they do have. In other words, they need protective authority that will keep them out of trouble instead of punishment after they are already in it.

Leontine Young, professor of casework, Ohio University, to the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth.

SECTION I - FACTS, FACTORS AND DATA

Some Facts and Observations about Illegitimacy *

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Births out of wedlock are not new to our time. We have only to refer to the Old Testament to realize the concern with which the problem was viewed many centuries ago. True, reactions to this phenomenon have varied in accordance with social and cultural influences, religious principles, and specific traditions and customs in respect to marriage in particular societies. The symposium presented in this issue of CHILDREN is concerned with problems of unmarried mothers in the United States, problems which stem from the social, environmental, and emotional conflicts that are perhaps inevitable in a society that accepts marriage and family as its cornerstone.

The widespread interest in this subject is evident all around us and takes many forms, ranging from genuine concern about alleviating the problem to a punitive sense of outrage. The emotional problems which often lead to unmarried motherhood have been given special attention by psychiatrists and social workers. Cultural and sociological aspects have also received attention.

* * *

Many persons concerned about the extent of illegitimacy believe that most unmarried mothers are receiving public assistance in the Federal-State program of aid to families with dependent children. In a report issued in 1960, the Bureau of Family Services (then the Bureau of Public Assistance), Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, estimated that 2.5 million children in the United States under 18 years of age had been born out of wedlock. Of these, only 13 percent were receiving aid to dependent children in November 1958.

* * *

Attitudes toward unmarried mothers range from the extremely punitive to the forgiving. There are those who would include the child in the punishment by withholding public assistance from both mother and child regardless of their need. Others would allow the young girl "one mistake." Too often the idea of helping a person in trouble is confused with condoning what she did.

Any ready answer to the problem of illegitimacy can only arise from a circumscribed view of the factors associated with or contributing to it. Problems related to a marginal standard of living undoubtedly enter in. But to regard social deprivation as the sole cause leaves us without answers as to why the "girl next door" or the woman with substantial means becomes pregnant out of wedlock. Another factor may be found in society's inconsistencies in attitudes toward sex, which are a source of uncertainty and confused values among young people.

* Please see inside front cover for source of article from which these excerpts have been selected.

We also get a distorted picture of the etiology of illegitimacy if we ignore the influence of conflicts between parent and child, deprivation of love, damaged security, and absence of opportunity to achieve or gain satisfaction in everyday living. Knowledge of personality structure, human behavior, and the dynamics of social functioning must be taken into consideration when examining this whole problem, as well as the problems of any individual unmarried mother.

Social and Health Services

While complete figures are unavailable, it is possible to make some estimates of the numbers of unmarried mothers served by maternity homes--agencies designed to provide residential care for illegitimately pregnant girls and women. At present there are in this country approximately 190 maternity homes, located in 46 States and the District of Columbia, having a combined capacity of about 5,000 unmarried mothers. Forty-five are nonsectarian agencies affiliated with the Florence Crittenton Association of America, 35 are operated by The Salvation Army, about 50 are operated under Roman Catholic auspices, and about 60 others are operated by other religious groups or are independent nonsectarian social agencies.

We know from reports made to the Children's Bureau that on one day a few years ago 90 percent of the total capacity of these homes was in use. With full use of the present capacity of 5,000 mothers and an average of 70 days of care per mother, about 25,000 could be cared for in a year. Certainly they do care for well over 20,000 a year--about 1 out of 10 of the 224,300 mothers who had illegitimate children in 1960. Many of the unmarried expectant mothers cared for in maternity homes are the same persons reported as receiving service from child welfare agencies, since these agencies often refer their clients to maternity homes for special care and maternity homes in turn often refer women and girls to child welfare agencies for adoption planning or casework service.

* * *

Children Who Are Adopted

The number of illegitimate children for whom adoption petitions were granted during 1961 is estimated to be 66,100--29 percent of the number of illegitimate children who were born in 1960. While the race of these 66,100 children is not known, we do know that about 90 percent of all children adopted are white. If 59,500 of the out-of-wedlock children who were adopted were white and 6,600 were nonwhite, this would mean that about 70 percent of the 82,500 white babies born out of wedlock, but only about 5 percent of the 141,800 nonwhite babies born out of wedlock, found permanent homes with adoptive parents. Even if all of the 11,400 nonwhite children who were adopted were illegitimate (which is unlikely), they still would amount to less than 10 percent of all nonwhite children born out of wedlock.

* * *

Mothers Who Keep Their Babies

Fragmentary as the national figures are on social services provided unmarried mothers, they leave little room for doubt that a majority of all unmarried mothers keep their babies without help from social agencies in working out a plan.

* * *

The report issued in 1960 by the Bureau of Services (then the Bureau of Public Assistance) Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, shows that of an estimated 2.5 million children under 18 in the United States who had been born out of wedlock, 31 percent had been adopted, 13 percent were receiving aid to dependent children, and 1 percent were in foster care. Little is known about the remaining 55 percent. This large group, which included over three-quarters of the nonwhite

children and one-fifth of the white children under 18 years of age born out of wedlock, suggests that the majority of unmarried mothers who keep their children continue to manage in some way through subsequent marriage, employment, or support of their children by relatives, friends, or other means, but we know very little about the kinds of homes in which their children are growing up.

We do know, however, from many cases which have come to the attention of social or health agencies or courts that some of these children are brought up by grandparents or other relatives, that some are passed along to strangers who do not want them, that some are eventually brought by their mothers to agencies for placement in foster homes or institutions. Among these last, too frequently are children who bear the emotional scars of deprivation and rejection.

* * *

Cooperative Efforts

Over the past decade there has been a movement toward interprofessional efforts to increase understanding of the problems pertaining to births out of wedlock and for help in planning services that are needed. While the initial efforts have been focused on adoptions, a greater awareness of the problems of the child's natural mother and her medical, social, legal and emotional needs has been gradually evolving. Medical groups have been concerned about both the inadequacy of prenatal care received by unmarried mothers and their need for special counseling by social agencies. A number of State medical societies have included in their resolutions on adoption practice a recommendation that an unmarried mother be referred to a social agency for help with her plans and those pertaining to her child.

* * *

Of course, the best way to stop the spread of any social or health problem is to prevent it rather than treat it.

* * *

While the many knowns and unknowns intertwined in the problem of illegitimacy leave little hope of eliminating this age-old problem, communities can alleviate many of the conditions which tend to aggravate the confusions that are behind so much of it. We may not have all the answers but we do have some and it is up to us to apply them.

Excerpt from
Social Systems and Teaching Models

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My own conception was that our interest in this meeting is merely part of a more profound crisis and revolution in human affairs. I saw these events related to rapidly expanding behavioral knowledge and technology plus new revelations of our internal nature. This combination is evolving a least common denominator of the human condition underlying all of the traditional systems of human formation and control.

The evolvement of this least common denominator has shaken existing systems and is bringing about a dissolution of their traditional structures and boundaries. At the same time, the new concepts of human existence are dissolving traditional, stable boundaries within ourselves.

Caught up in this crisis and revolution, we turn almost desperately to operational patterns such as home, school and church to reassert their cultural, role-defining function for us. However, we find little to lean upon here. The socializing systems themselves, which these operational patterns support, are no longer accurate reflections of what we have become and can no longer perform the function of defining us to ourselves.

In our discontent and dismay we have created a total new social institution to reflect and express into the external environment, the new discoveries we are making of ourselves. We have commissioned this new institution to begin the job of bringing the existing socializing systems of family, education, legal-correction, social welfare and religion into concordance with our new consciousness of ourselves.

Delivered at Meeting of Trainers of Teachers
of Emotionally Disturbed Children, NIMH,
Bethesda, Maryland
October 10, 1963

CHARTS

All provisional statistics for January through November, 1964, and charts on pages 6, 7, 8 and 9 were prepared especially for the Conference on Children Born Out of Wedlock by the Department of Health, Bureau of Administration and Management, Division of Data Processing.

The sources for the charts on pages 4 and 5 were:

Department of Health, Bureau of Administration and Management, Division of Data Processing;

Department of Public Welfare, Office of Program Planning, Research and Review;

and U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

***LIVE BIRTHS, ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS AND PER CENT ILLEGITIMATE**
By Year, 1951 to 1963, and 11 Months, 1964

Pennsylvania				United States		
Year	Total Live Births	Total Illeg. Births	Per Cent Illeg.	Total Live Births	Total Illeg. Births	Per Cent Illeg.
1951	235,319	8,215	3.5	3,750,850	146,500	3.9
1957	256,381	10,031	3.9	4,254,784	201,700	4.7
1959	248,658	10,615	4.3	4,244,796	220,600	5.2
1961	240,172	11,321	4.7	4,268,326	240,200	5.6
1962	226,393	11,434	5.1	4,167,362	245,100	5.9
1963	221,537	12,128	5.5	Not Available		
1964	196,863	11,682	5.9	Not Available		

By Counties

County	Live Births	Illeg. Births	% Illeg. 1963	% Illeg. 1964	County	Live Births	Illeg. Births	% Illeg. 1963	% Illeg. 1964
Adams	1,173	47	4.0	4.1	Lackawanna	3,708	96	2.6	2.8
Allegheny	29,874	1,556	5.2	5.6	Lancaster	6,118	231	3.8	3.8
Armstrong	1,411	54	3.8	3.6	Lawrence	1,870	52	2.8	2.8
Beaver	3,873	121	3.1	4.2	Lebanon	1,941	85	4.4	5.3
Bedford	912	38	4.2	4.1	Lehigh	4,199	135	3.2	3.9
Berks	5,003	227	4.5	5.2	Luzerne	5,462	150	2.7	3.7
Blair	2,545	109	4.3	5.0	Lycoming	2,310	135	5.8	6.4
Bradford	1,245	39	3.1	4.5	McKean	1,024	23	2.2	4.0
Bucks	7,417	138	1.9	2.3	Mercer	2,322	88	3.8	4.6
Butler	2,377	56	2.4	2.3	Mifflin	913	24	2.6	3.8
Cambria	3,401	130	3.8	4.0	Monroe	771	28	3.6	3.7
Cameron	141	7	5.0	0.8	Montgomery	10,123	293	2.9	2.9
Carbon	838	33	3.9	4.1	Montour	313	13	4.2	7.6
Centre	1,777	57	3.2	2.9	Northampton	3,530	132	3.7	4.3
Chester	4,824	255	5.3	5.5	Northumberland	1,825	55	3.0	3.3
Clarion	790	22	2.8	2.4	Perry	552	26	4.7	3.2
Clearfield	1,608	59	3.7	3.7	Philadelphia	42,918	4,915	11.5	12.2
Clinton	727	18	2.5	2.2	Pike	170	-0-	-0-	7.7
Columbia	932	29	3.1	2.9	Potter	352	11	3.1	3.0
Crawford	1,463	49	3.3	3.7	Schuylkill	2,766	100	3.6	3.5
Cumberland	2,624	110	4.2	4.0	Snyder	515	14	2.7	1.5
Dauphin	4,431	424	9.5	11.6	Somerset	1,400	39	2.8	3.5
Delaware	11,623	411	3.5	3.5	Sullivan	114	-0-	-0-	3.3
Elk	859	21	2.4	1.5	Susquehanna	694	21	3.0	4.0
Erie	5,378	255	4.7	4.2	Tioga	795	22	2.8	4.4
Fayette	2,891	179	6.2	7.1	Union	460	23	5.0	7.3
Forest	84	2	2.4	2.2	Venango	1,149	36	3.1	3.2
Franklin	2,051	81	3.9	4.2	Warren	870	36	4.1	2.5
Fulton	196	11	5.6	3.1	Washington	3,643	138	3.8	4.4
Greene	551	24	4.4	6.5	Wayne	490	13	2.7	2.2
Huntingdon	793	53	6.7	5.8	Westmoreland	6,475	182	2.8	2.7
Indiana	1,443	63	4.4	3.7	Wyoming	331	5	1.5	4.0
Jefferson	857	25	2.9	3.2	York	4,940	295	6.0	7.1
Juniata	335	7	2.1	3.5					

*Based on county of residence.

*LIVE BIRTHS, ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS AND PER CENT ILLEGITIMATE - 1963
 Per Cent of Illegitimate Births - 11 Months, 1964

By Cities Over 25,000 Population									
Cities	Live Births	Illeg. Births	% Illeg. 1963	% Illeg. 1964	Cities	Live Births	Illeg. Births	% Illeg. 1963	% Illeg. 1964
Allentown	1,863	73	3.9	5.3	McKeesport	761	55	7.2	6.4
Altoona	1,227	65	5.3	5.2	New Castle	793	25	3.2	4.1
Bethlehem	1,264	48	3.8	4.2	Norristown	961	59	6.1	7.3
Chester	1,625	239	14.7	16.4	Philadelphia	42,918	4,915	11.5	12.2
Easton	800	49	6.1	7.8	Pittsburgh	10,516	998	9.5	10.1
Erie	3,000	183	6.1	5.5	Reading	1,728	133	7.7	9.0
Harrisburg	1,606	284	17.7	23.1	Scranton	1,761	54	3.1	3.8
Hazleton	527	15	2.8	2.2	Wilkes-Barre	1,022	44	4.3	6.3
Johnstown	914	61	6.7	5.7	Wilkinsburg	647	43	6.6	4.4
Lancaster	1,358	108	8.0	9.7	Williamsport	911	95	10.4	10.6
Lebanon	646	37	5.7	8.5	York	1,195	164	13.7	16.0

*Based on city of residence.

+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + +

Children Receiving Assistance
 December - 1961

| | Number of Illegitimate Children | % of Child Recipients | % of All Children Under 18 | Total Child Recipients | % of All Children Under 18 |
|---------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| Pennsylvania | 45,503 | 20.8 | 1.4 | 209,162 | 5.4 |
| United States | 645,230 | 24.3 | 1.0 | 2,658,529 | 4.1 |

ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS BY RACE AND AGE OF MOTHER, PENNSYLVANIA, 1963

| <u>Age Groups</u> | <u>ALL RACES</u> | | <u>WHITE</u> | | <u>NONWHITE</u> | |
|-------------------|------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|
| | <u>Number</u> | <u>Pct.</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Pct.</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Pct.</u> |
| TOTAL | 12,128 | 100.0 | 5,865 | 100.0 | 6,263 | 100.0 |
| Under 15 | 234 | 1.9 | 43 | 0.7 | 191 | 3.0 |
| 15-19 | 4,867 | 40.1 | 2,137 | 36.4 | 2,730 | 43.6 |
| 20-24 | 4,012 | 33.1 | 2,158 | 36.8 | 1,854 | 29.6 |
| 25-29 | 1,596 | 13.2 | 763 | 13.0 | 833 | 13.3 |
| 30-34 | 835 | 6.9 | 420 | 7.2 | 415 | 6.6 |
| 35-39 | 443 | 3.7 | 254 | 4.3 | 189 | 3.0 |
| 40-44 | 138 | 1.1 | 88 | 1.5 | 50 | 0.8 |
| Over 44 | 3 | 0.0 | 2 | 0.0 | 1 | 0.0 |

ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS BY RACE AND TRIMESTER, PENNSYLVANIA, 1963

| <u>Trimester</u> | <u>ALL RACES</u> | | <u>WHITE</u> | | <u>NONWHITE</u> | |
|------------------|------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|
| | <u>Number</u> | <u>Pct.</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Pct.</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Pct.</u> |
| TOTAL | 12,128 | 100.0 | 5,865 | 100.0 | 6,263 | 100.0 |
| First Tri. | 2,545 | 21.0 | 1,680 | 28.6 | 865 | 13.8 |
| Second Tri. | 4,775 | 39.4 | 2,016 | 34.3 | 2,759 | 44.1 |
| Third Tri. | 2,686 | 22.1 | 1,183 | 20.2 | 1,503 | 24.0 |
| No Visit | 1,183 | 9.8 | 454 | 7.7 | 726 | 11.6 |
| Unknown | 939 | 7.7 | 529 | 9.0 | 410 | 6.5 |

ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS BY RACE AND AGE OF MOTHER, PENNSYLVANIA, JANUARY-NOVEMBER, 1964

| <u>Age Groups</u> | <u>ALL RACES</u> | | <u>WHITE</u> | | <u>NONWHITE</u> | |
|-------------------|------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|
| | <u>Number</u> | <u>Pct.</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Pct.</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Pct.</u> |
| TOTAL | 11,682 | 100.0 | 5,514 | 100.0 | 6,168 | 100.0 |
| Under 15 | 239 | 2.0 | 55 | 1.0 | 184 | 3.0 |
| 15-19 | 4,815 | 41.2 | 2,072 | 37.6 | 2,743 | 44.5 |
| 20-24 | 3,826 | 32.8 | 2,011 | 36.5 | 1,815 | 29.4 |
| 25-29 | 1,491 | 12.8 | 707 | 12.8 | 784 | 12.7 |
| 30-34 | 739 | 6.3 | 360 | 6.5 | 379 | 6.1 |
| 35-39 | 423 | 3.6 | 218 | 4.0 | 205 | 3.3 |
| 40-44 | 139 | 1.2 | 85 | 1.5 | 54 | 0.9 |
| Over 44 | 5 | 0.0 | 4 | 0.1 | 1 | 0.0 |
| Unknown Age | 5 | 0.0 | 2 | 0.0 | 3 | 0.0 |

ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS BY RACE AND TRIMESTER, PENNSYLVANIA, JANUARY-NOVEMBER, 1964

| <u>Trimester</u> | <u>ALL RACES</u> | | <u>WHITE</u> | | <u>NONWHITE</u> | |
|------------------|------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|
| | <u>Number</u> | <u>Pct.</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Pct.</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Pct.</u> |
| TOTAL | 11,682 | 100.0 | 5,514 | 100.0 | 6,168 | 100.0 |
| First Tri. | 2,687 | 23.0 | 1,758 | 31.9 | 929 | 15.1 |
| Second Tri. | 4,496 | 38.5 | 1,879 | 34.1 | 2,617 | 42.4 |
| Third Tri. | 2,675 | 22.9 | 1,130 | 20.5 | 1,545 | 25.0 |
| No Visit | 1,197 | 10.2 | 445 | 8.1 | 752 | 12.2 |
| Unknown | 627 | 5.4 | 302 | 5.5 | 325 | 5.3 |

ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS BY NUMBER OF PREVIOUS CHILDREN, RACE, AND AGE OF MOTHER, PENNSYLVANIA, 1963

NUMBER OF PREVIOUS CHILDREN BORN

| Age of Mother | Total | None | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Over 9 | Not Stated |
|---------------|--------|-------|-------|-------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|----|----|--------|------------|
| TOTAL | 12,128 | 6,839 | 2,147 | 1,156 | 715 | 483 | 303 | 184 | 96 | 59 | 49 | 62 | 35 |
| Under 15 | 234 | 221 | 13 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 15-19 | 4,867 | 3,940 | 724 | 150 | 29 | 5 | 1 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 18 |
| 20-24 | 4,012 | 2,101 | 906 | 509 | 288 | 117 | 54 | 18 | 8 | -- | -- | -- | 11 |
| 25-29 | 1,596 | 388 | 301 | 275 | 197 | 184 | 118 | 63 | 33 | 20 | 4 | 8 | 5 |
| 30-34 | 835 | 125 | 122 | 124 | 118 | 117 | 79 | 65 | 25 | 16 | 26 | 17 | 1 |
| 35-39 | 443 | 52 | 66 | 72 | 66 | 42 | 41 | 26 | 21 | 16 | 16 | 25 | -- |
| 40-44 | 138 | 12 | 14 | 26 | 17 | 16 | 10 | 12 | 9 | 7 | 3 | 12 | -- |
| Over 44 | 3 | -- | 1 | -- | -- | 2 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |

ALL RACES

WHITE

| | 5,865 | 3,886 | 862 | 443 | 248 | 188 | 93 | 49 | 21 | 20 | 9 | 20 | 26 |
|-------|-------|-------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| TOTAL | 15 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Under | 43 | 43 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 15-19 | 2,137 | 1,935 | 163 | 22 | 3 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 14 |
| 20-24 | 2,158 | 1,471 | 403 | 165 | 73 | 26 | 10 | 2 | -- | -- | -- | -- | 8 |
| 25-29 | 763 | 284 | 173 | 128 | 67 | 61 | 36 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 1 | -- | 3 |
| 30-34 | 420 | 98 | 73 | 66 | 60 | 63 | 20 | 20 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 1 |
| 35-39 | 254 | 44 | 39 | 48 | 34 | 26 | 24 | 13 | 8 | 8 | 1 | 9 | -- |
| 40-44 | 88 | 11 | 11 | 14 | 11 | 10 | 3 | 9 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 7 | -- |
| Over | 44 | -- | -- | -- | -- | 2 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |

NONWHITE

[illegible]

ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS BY RACE, TRIMESTER OF FIRST VISIT, AND CONGENITAL MALFORMATIONS
OR BIRTH INJURIES, COMPLICATIONS OF PREGNANCY, AND COMPLICATIONS OF LABOR
FOR PENNSYLVANIA, 1963

| <u>ALL RACES</u> | TOTAL | | FIRST TRIMESTER | | SECOND TRIMESTER | | THIRD TRIMESTER | | NO VISIT | |
|---|---------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|
| | <u>Number</u> | <u>Pct.</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Pct.</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Pct.</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Pct.</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Pct.</u> |
| TOTAL | 12,128 | 100.0 | 2,545 | 100.0 | 4,775 | 100.0 | 2,686 | 100.0 | 1,183 | 100.0 |
| Congenital Malformations
or Birth Injuries | 232 | 1.9 | 40 | 1.6 | 89 | 1.9 | 54 | 2.0 | 27 | 2.3 |
| Complications of Pregnancy | 1,564 | 12.9 | 241 | 9.5 | 663 | 13.9 | 369 | 13.7 | 219 | 18.5 |
| Complications of Labor | 1,483 | 12.2 | 316 | 12.4 | 612 | 12.8 | 288 | 10.7 | 168 | 14.2 |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| <u>WHITE</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL | 5,865 | 100.0 | 1,680 | 100.0 | 2,016 | 100.0 | 1,183 | 100.0 | 457 | 100.0 |
| Congenital Malformations
or Birth Injuries | 101 | 1.7 | 26 | 1.5 | 35 | 1.7 | 27 | 2.3 | 4 | 0.9 |
| Complications of Pregnancy | 564 | 9.6 | 128 | 7.6 | 191 | 9.5 | 141 | 11.9 | 73 | 16.0 |
| Complications of Labor | 681 | 11.6 | 205 | 12.2 | 249 | 12.4 | 126 | 10.7 | 52 | 11.4 |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| <u>NONWHITE</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL | 6,263 | 100.0 | 865 | 100.0 | 2,759 | 100.0 | 1,503 | 100.0 | 726 | 100.0 |
| Congenital Malformations
or Birth Injuries | 131 | 2.1 | 14 | 1.6 | 54 | 2.0 | 27 | 1.8 | 23 | 3.2 |
| Complications of Pregnancy | 1,000 | 16.0 | 113 | 13.1 | 472 | 17.1 | 228 | 15.2 | 146 | 20.1 |
| Complications of Labor | 802 | 12.8 | 111 | 12.8 | 363 | 13.2 | 162 | 10.8 | 116 | 16.0 |

Unmarried Mothers:

Some Questions To Be Answered And Some Answers To Be Questioned *

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* * *

My respondents did not spell out the bearing of their questions and challenges on reduction of illegitimacy problems, although several implications are clear. The main one, I think, is the advantage of improving our information on the challenged points--especially our information about the culture of the groups that provide most of our unmarried mothers. For experience has shown that in order to change a culture one should know it. And anyone who wants to reduce problems relating to births out of wedlock wants to introduce cultural changes--whether the culture involved is the culture of poverty, the culture of nonwhite groups, or the culture of youth. Although full comprehension of the culture to be modified may not guarantee ability to bring about change, miscomprehension will probably guarantee inability to do so.

"Know the culture" is the first of five axioms often invoked by those experienced in effective introduction of culture change--axioms which are perhaps a collective equivalent of some casework axioms. The second axiom is: "Know what change you want to bring about, and how." The third is: "Instill motivation for change." A good many investigators, these days, link the behavior patterns of low-income levels to current theories of anomie and opportunity structure discussed by Merton, Ohlin, Cloward, and others. If an individual feels he is not part of the great society, they say, if he feels that the avenues to its rewards are blocked, then he is unlikely to live by the rules of that society. Some part of him may prefer the rules accepted by those whom the society accepts. But if the goals do not seem accessible to him, he is not motivated to exercise the self-discipline and energy inspired by belief that something is to be gained--or even just that he belongs.

* * *

The fourth axiom is: "Show that change is feasible by giving a taste of success." This is a principle effective in underdeveloped countries, in helping school children catch up with their classmates, and also in work with so-called multi-problem families, among whose multi-problems is illegitimacy. If, in the beginning, tasks and projects are within the grasp of the performer, so that he can believe success is possible and taste its gratifications and results, the mainspring for motivation to further effort has been achieved.

The fifth axiom is: "We must want change enough to be willing to pay for it--in whatever currency and amount may be required." This, people are seldom prepared to do.

We have been trying over and over things that do not detach the illegitimacy rates from the total birth rates and bend them downward. One thing we have tried is exhortation, a method in vogue since Biblical days. Another is depriving the deprived, and still another is putting a cash premium on fatherless homes. It seems reasonable to sift the evidence for leads to more promising approaches.

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SECTION II - LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Legal Protections for the Unmarried Mother and Her Child *

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The legal problems that may beset teenage unmarried mothers vary with each girl. Some questions, however, are of common concern. How does the fact that an unmarried mother is a minor affect her right to bring a suit against the father? Who must support the illegitimate child? Can a minor unwed mother freely give up her child for adoption? Whose consent is necessary? Does minority affect the right to have custody of one's illegitimate child?

In many instances the answers to these questions depend upon the statutes of the State in which the girl resides. For this reason, the reader is warned not to interpret the general statements that follow as applicable to all minor unmarried mothers. While courts which deal with family law are particularly concerned with all the facts in each case, they must still be guided by what is written in the statutes.

The illegitimate child is at a great disadvantage. Not only is there a social stigma attached to his status, but he is also deprived of certain rights and responsibilities.

Legitimacy is regarded by the law to be a matter of personal status. There is a difference between a statute which merely enables a natural child when recognized by his parents to inherit and a statute which legitimates such a child. There is also a difference between methods of legitimation and proceedings to establish paternity--known in law as bastardy proceedings. A child may be illegitimate, yet still inherit from his father under certain conditions. For example, in some States an illegitimate child may inherit from his father if the father has formally recognized the child as his own. In many States, however, the conditions that must be met in order to confer inheritance rights on the illegitimate child are the marriage of the child's natural parents and the formal recognition of the child by his father. These conditions also often serve to legitimate the child.

Thus an illegitimate child might have inheritance rights and might be supported by his father, but, unless the father legitimates his child in a prescribed manner, his child is illegitimate--a status which society has generally resented.

A few States no longer denote illegitimacy on a child's birth certificate, in order to protect the child from undesirable publicity. However, there are research advantages for the recording of such information. Therefore, the Federal Children's Bureau has recommended that information concerning legitimacy status and medical details should be recorded on the birth certificate in a detachable section which can be filed separately so that the information will not be made known to school authorities when a child is enrolled in school or to other persons to whom it is sometimes necessary to show a birth certificate.

* Please see inside of front cover for source of article

Not all fathers are eager to acknowledge or even to legitimate their illegitimate children. Many unwed mothers, regardless of age, have to institute legal proceedings to establish the paternity of the child and to force the father to support his child. The character of these proceedings varies in the different States. Typically, however, a bastardy proceeding resembles a criminal action, yet the substance and effect of the proceeding are like those in a civil action.

Establishing Paternity

Bastardy proceedings are normally instituted by the mother. If she fails to do so, however, some States may themselves bring the action. In States in which bastardy proceedings have been considered as essentially civil actions, it has been held that the unmarried mother who is a minor must be represented by a guardian ad litem, or next friend. On the other hand, some States subscribe to the view that a guardian ad litem is unnecessary because the State is the real plaintiff in the case, prosecuting the putative father in order to secure funds for the child's maintenance. In these States the courts take the point of view that the proceeding is aimed at preventing the illegitimate child from becoming a public charge, and that the minor unwed mother is merely a witness for the prosecution.

Conceivably, in some instances, a minor unmarried mother, for some monetary consideration, might enter into an agreement with the putative father not to institute bastardy proceedings. She might do so because: (1) she is not absolutely certain that the presumed father of her child is in fact the father or that she would be able to convince the court of this; or (2) neither she nor the father wants to create a scandal or provoke publicity by instituting a bastardy proceeding. A few courts have held that if a minor mother enters into such an agreement and there is no evidence of fraud or duress, the agreement is binding and is a bar to further bastardy proceedings. Other courts have applied to such agreements the same general rule applicable to infants' contracts: An infant can void any contract or agreement to release his rights. This principle of contracts law is based upon the presumption that infants do not have sufficient discretion to put a just value on their property or rights and should therefore be protected.

Some States provide statutory safeguards for the mother in a minor's release of a bastardy claim. Such a release must be approved by a court.

While in the past it was generally believed that a father had a moral obligation to support his child born out of wedlock, the common law did not provide for the legal implementation of this moral duty. Not even the child's mother was liable for his support. The illegitimate child was regarded as filius nullius (nobody's child). Today, however, all States require the mother of an illegitimate child to support the child and, after paternity has been established, the father to contribute to the support. In many instances the father is required to aid in the expenses of the mother's pregnancy and the child's birth, upbringing, and education. Some States provide for the support payments to continue from the child's infancy to a specified age or to his majority.

There are indirect as well as direct means of requiring a father to support his illegitimate child. Some States do this through their poor laws, which place illegitimate children within the category of indigent relatives whom a nonindigent must support. Other States accomplish this objective through criminal laws which provide penalties for the abandonment and nonsupport of children, including illegitimate children. Still others provide for the enforcement of the father's duty of support through the bastardy laws which prescribe legal procedures for the determination of paternity.

Grandparents' Obligation

A problem often encountered in relation to minor unmarried mothers concerns the question of whether the mother's parents have an obligation to support her illegitimate child. Often a teenage unmarried mother continues to live at the home of her parents after the birth of her baby, attending school while her mother cares for her child. In such a situation the illegitimate child and his mother tend to be reared as siblings. Thus the question arises: Do grandparents, maternal or paternal, have responsibility to support their illegitimate grandchild? State statutes guide the courts in their efforts to answer this question.

Two Pennsylvania cases are interesting for the approaches taken by two different county courts in dealing with this problem.

In one case, a petition for support of a poor person was brought by a child placement agency, the Children's Bureau of the Community Service of the County of Lancaster, against the maternal grandmother of an illegitimate child. These were the facts: When the defendant's daughter, Jessie, was 16, she gave birth to a son. The father of the child was unknown. With the consent of Jessie and her mother, the child was placed in foster care by the child placement agency. At the time the agency filed the petition for support, the child had been in foster care for a year. The agency wanted reimbursement from the child's maternal grandmother for the cost of keeping the child in foster care.

The question before the court was: Can the maternal grandmother of a dependent illegitimate child be held liable for the support of that child, where the mother of the child is a minor and is not able to support him? The court held that the maternal grandmother was liable for the support of the child from the date of the case, but not retroactively.

The Lancaster County court relied on two Pennsylvania statutes to reach its decision: a poor law statute and a decedents' estates statute. Section 1012 of the Pennsylvania General Poor Relief Act reads: "The husband, wife, children, father, mother, grandparents, and grandchildren respectively of every poor person shall at their own charge, being of sufficient ability, relieve and maintain such poor person at such rate as the court of quarter sessions of the county where such poor person resides shall order and direct."

Did "grandparents" in this statute include Jessie's mother? In order to decide this issue, the court had to decide whether there was a legal relationship between a grandparent and an illegitimate grandchild. The court found that there was such a legal relationship by looking to the decedents' estates statute and finding that maternal grandparents of an illegitimate child can inherit from that child and that the child can inherit from maternal grandparents.

For the same reason that the Lancaster County court determined that there was a legal relationship between an illegitimate child and its maternal grandparents, thus making those grandparents "responsible relatives" within the meaning of the poor laws, the Allegheny County court held in another case that the paternal grandparents of an illegitimate child had no legal relationship to that child. In that case the paternal grandfather of a child of a bigamous marriage brought an action to dismiss proceedings in which an order had been made against him to continue to contribute toward the support of the child. The grandfather had made some effort to support the child in the past after his son's abandonment of the child and the mother. The court reached the decision, apparently with some reluctance, that it would be unfair to saddle a paternal grandfather with the responsibility of supporting his illegitimate grandchild without giving the grandparent reciprocal inheritance rights.

Here was an invitation for the legislature to remedy this kind of situation. The Pennsylvania Legislature has not taken up this invitation. Instead it has repealed that section of the support laws requiring grandparents to support indigent grandchildren.

Adoption

Generally when illegitimate children are released for adoption, state statutes require the consent of the mother only. In some States the father's consent is required if he has acknowledged the child, particularly if there has been legitimation of the child by the marriage of his natural parents to one another and the acknowledgment of the child by the father. Legitimation of the child by marriage of the natural parents after the mother has given consent to adoption does not always mean that the father's consent is also required.

State statutes differ regarding the problem of whether the consent of the parents or guardian of a minor parent must accompany the minor unmarried mother's consent to the adoption of her child. Statutes in Arizona, the District of Columbia, Kansas, and Maryland specifically state that minority is not a bar to consent. There is much to be said for this approach. Sometimes parents can do great damage to their child and their illegitimate grandchild by withholding their consent. An older teenage unwed mother might with good reason want to keep her pregnancy and the birth of her child secret.

In its "Legislative Guides for the Termination of Parental Rights and Responsibilities and the Adoption of Children," the Federal Children's Bureau has considered the effect of the mother's minority on her consent to the termination of her rights in her child. Section 6 of the termination guide requires that a minor mother's parent or guardian must be notified of the termination proceeding, "unless the court is satisfied, in the exercise of its discretion, that such notice is not in the best interest of said minor and that it would serve no useful purpose." Presumably, since a social study would be made in each case of the termination of a mother's rights and the adoption of her child, a judge would be guided by that study in making his decision regarding the advisability of notifying the minor mother's parents or guardian. In an adoption in which the petition for adoption is filed by first or second degree relatives of the child, the adoption guide would require that a minor parent's consent be concurred in by her parents or guardian.

A minor unwed mother must be protected from making a hasty and improvident decision regarding her child. A wise approach is taken by the provision in the adoption guide and many other statutes which require acknowledgment and attestation before a court or a notary of a mother's consent to the termination of her rights in her child.

A problem of getting consent from the unmarried mother's parents also comes up when a minor unmarried pregnant girl seeks medical care. Most hospitals and clinics require the consent of parents before providing any care to a minor because of the parents' legal rights in their minor child.

Custody

In regard to custody, courts subscribe to a generally accepted doctrine: A mother is the natural guardian of her illegitimate child, and as such has the legal right to his custody, care and control, superior to the right of the father or any other person.

The policy underlying this rule seems to be that while the identity of the father of the illegitimate child may be doubtful, there can be no doubt as to the identity of the mother. Since the obligation to care for and to support the illegiti-

mate child is primarily imposed on the mother, she should have custody to enable her to discharge that obligation adequately. There is also a presumption in the law that the child's best interests require him to be in the mother's custody.

The mother's right to custody of her illegitimate child is not absolute. It is qualified by the same principle applicable to custody questions generally: The best interests of the child must be a guide.

Thus, in a custody battle between a minor unwed mother and her relatives, if a judge thought it would be in the best interest of the child to allow its mother to maintain custody, he would award custody to her. The age of the mother would be a factor, but the overriding consideration would be the best interests of the child.

Because of the presumption in the law that the illegitimate child's best interests require the child to be in the mother's custody, the burden is upon the person disputing the mother's custody to show why the general rule should not apply.

One possible antagonist to the mother in her attempt to maintain custody of her illegitimate child might be the father. What are his rights? Once again it must be said that the mother has superior rights to custody so long as it is in the child's best interest for him to remain in her custody. As between the competing interests of the father and other relatives, courts generally prefer the father. Of course, here too the evidence must show that the father will make a suitable parent and the child's interest will ultimately be furthered by his being put in the father's custody.

Custody Agreements

Sometimes an unwed mother transfers the custody of her child to another person or persons. The arrangement might be made through a formal or an informal agreement. It might be permanent or temporary. This raises certain questions. Must an unwed mother take any special measures if she wants to arrange informally for another person (perhaps her mother) to take care of her child? Is a formal agreement of this nature legally binding on the unwed mother? Does the fact that she is a minor make a difference?

In a case recently before the Colorado Supreme Court, an action was brought by the State to determine dependency and neglect of an illegitimate child. The child's mother had been arrested on a charge of forgery and sent to the penitentiary. Before incarceration she had taken the child to his grandmother, her mother, for care until her release from prison. At the trial to determine neglect, there was no disclosure of facts suggesting that the grandmother was mistreating the child. Presumably the proceeding was brought and carried to its conclusion on the sole assumption that, since the illegitimate child was not being cared for by either his father or his mother, the child was in fact neglected and dependent.

The trial court declared that it was necessary for the mother to obtain the consent of the court before putting the child in care of her mother. The Colorado Supreme Court found this ruling to be in error. The language of the court is important because it reflects an approach taken by many courts and is eminently sensible.

The court said:

Clearly it is not the law that before a child can be placed by a parent in temporary custody of a relative, permission must be first obtained from the court. Nor is it the law that custody orders must issue, and that the

court must appoint the persons selected by the parent officially as guardian. . . . If, through arrangements made by the parent, the child is being properly cared for by those who have a genuine interest in its welfare, the fact that the mother has obtained such help and has sought out and procured proper care for the child is evidence that the parent is not neglecting the child.

A formal agreement transferring custody of an illegitimate child from his mother to somebody else may or may not be enforced, depending upon the State in which the agreement is made or in which it is to be enforced. Some States have laws stating clearly that a permanent transfer of custody of a child from his natural parents to another person is invalid because it is contrary to public policy. In States where the law is not explicit on this subject some courts have upheld such a transfer if it is in the best interest of the child. Other States have statutes authorizing such a transfer.

In a recent Georgia case, an issue before the court was whether a contract made by a 19-year-old woman and her husband (not the father of the illegitimate child) was effective to waive her parental control over her minor child. The court, following an earlier Georgia case, stated that an infant wife could not waive her parental control over her child. In fact, she could apply to the proper court to regain custody of the child if he were in the custody of someone else.

Presumably the courts apply the general principles of the law of infants' contracts to situations involving the transfer of custody. The teenage unwed mother, then, is protected from the results of a hasty decision to transfer custody of her illegitimate child. If she does make a decision to transfer custody, she can change her mind later and void the contract.

Conclusion

The fact that an unwed mother is a minor is relevant insofar as the law is concerned. Because of her age, her rights, responsibilities, and liabilities differ in many respects from those of older unwed mothers. For many of the legal principles applicable to minors generally are applicable to the minor unwed mother.

It must be borne in mind that when children are involved in a case, courts are guided by "the best interests of the child" doctrine. While that doctrine is defined in many ways, depending upon the court and judge, it can serve as a useful criterion. The hope is that "the best interests of the child" doctrine will work to protect and benefit not only the illegitimate child but also his mother who, as another child, also deserves special consideration.

SECTION III - CARE OF MOTHER AND CHILD, AND CUSTODY

Gaps in Services to Unmarried Mothers *

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Recent years have seen significant developments in resources and techniques for improving services to unmarried mothers, in relation to medical and social care, psychological treatment, and followup. Yet gaps in services continue as the figures in the first article in this issue indicate. Some communities may lack the resources to meet one or another of the needs; in others, the available services are insufficiently or inappropriately used. Thus, some unmarried mothers may be helped in all areas of need, while others may receive little service other than delivery.

An important question, therefore, is: How are services distributed in relation to various segments of the unmarried mother population? Is it on the basis of need, diagnosis, residence, the plan for the baby, race, or other factors? Related to this is the question of whether every unmarried mother automatically requires the services of a social agency in planning for herself and her baby. Another question is why certain available resources, such as prenatal services, are not used to the extent they are needed.

Medical Care

Prenatal care should receive priority attention in considering the needs of unmarried mothers because of the relatively higher incidence of prematurity, fetal, and prenatal deaths, complications of pregnancy, and maternal mortality associated with inadequate care. Many unmarried pregnant women, particularly those of ethnic and racial minority groups, do not seek such care until late in pregnancy, sometimes not until they are admitted to the hospital in labor or with complications.

* * *

A program for reaching a greater proportion of unmarried mothers with prenatal care, therefore, must take into account factors both in the patients and in the services which may be presenting obstacles to care. Such a program would include emphasis on the importance of health and prenatal care in regular programs of family life education; efforts toward referrals to medical resources and hospital social service departments; the relaxation of eligibility requirements for prenatal care; and sympathetic attention to each woman served, including the provision of help with the practical problems she faces.

Among the measures being tried here and there in an effort to reduce barriers to prenatal care are: the establishment of local health centers related to a parent hospital; purchase of service by the municipality from voluntary hospitals more conveniently located to the patient and less crowded than the public hospitals; diagnostic screening to determine the frequency of clinic visits; and the strategic use

* Please see inside front cover for source of article from which the above excerpts have been selected.

of public health nurses and nurse-midwives to relieve the pressure on medical staff. Although these measures are not directed specifically toward unmarried mothers, improvements which make the service more acceptable to pregnant women in general are likely to make it more acceptable to unmarried pregnant women, particularly if it is provided with the discretion which their out-of-wedlock status dictates.

* * *

Social Care

In reviewing a series of reports on services to unmarried mothers and in conversations with caseworkers, neighborhood group workers, public health nurses, and others, I have received the impression that recent developments in the function and structure of many voluntary agencies may be resulting in underservice to a substantial proportion of the unmarried mother population. Many voluntary child-placing agencies in recent years have tended to define their function in terms of adoption, and many maternity homes, oriented primarily toward shelter for concealment, tend to give priority to mothers who plan to relinquish their babies, or are sought out by such mothers. Recent figures from a national association of maternity homes indicate that in 1961, 79 percent of the live babies born to their clients were released for adoption and 13 percent were kept by their mothers. (Plans for 8 percent had not been completed.) With a chronic shortage of Negro adoptive homes, most Negro unmarried mothers have little choice but to keep their babies, which all but rules out the specialized voluntary agencies as a source of help for them. Some maternity homes are frankly or indirectly discriminatory in their admission policies.

As a one-parent family, an unmarried mother and her child, whatever their racial origins, should be able to profit by the help of a voluntary family agency, if there is one in the community. Yet experience indicates that unmarried mothers of minority background and low socioeconomic status make minimal use of voluntary family service agencies. In this respect they have much in common with other hard-to-reach families.

* * *

Eighty-five percent of the hospitals in the United States have no social service departments, and therefore provide no social care for women who are delivered in them. Moreover, many public hospitals which do have social service staffs discharge their maternity patients 24 to 48 hours after delivery, with the result that the woman who does not come to the hospital until time for delivery may never be seen by a social worker.

* * *

With the extended availability of Federal funds for child welfare services, the implementation of the 1956 and 1962 amendments to the Social Security Act which place an emphasis on services in public assistance, and the closer coordination of aid to families with dependent children and child welfare services, some of the hitherto unmet needs of unmarried pregnant women may be taken care of by public agencies.

When new public welfare services are initiated, taxpayers and legislators are likely to look for reassurance about probable increased costs. A number of projects in the last decade have focused on this question. They have demonstrated that the added expenses can sometimes be more than compensated for when the worker, with smaller caseloads and increased skills, is able to motivate the client toward self-dependence. However, while self-dependence can be a salutary achieve-

ment for some families, judgments about the effectiveness of programs intended for the benefit of children should rest on sound principles of child health and welfare, and not entirely on the number of families who achieve self-support. Moreover, services cannot compensate for inadequate grants, and the level of living which the allowance provides for can influence the effectiveness of the services.

* * *

Concern is often expressed in regard to the "invisible" unmarried mothers--the self-maintaining women, frequently nonresidents, who make private arrangements for medical care and independent, though not necessarily illegal, adoption plans for their babies. Some of the mothers who release their babies under these circumstances may not be providing adequate protection for them and may also be depriving themselves of needed counseling.

* * *

Except for data obtained by Vincent from physicians who had contact with unmarried mothers as patients, the writer has been unable to locate any firsthand information about the self-directing, unrecorded unmarried mothers. How many of these there are is unknown. However, it might be surmised that many such women conduct their affairs without agency help, in a way that enables them to terminate their unmarried-mother status with as few complications as possible. There is little evidence to indicate whether or not they perceive themselves or their babies as being deprived of services.

Psychological Treatment

The very fact of unmarried motherhood is likely to have emotional and psychological repercussions. Therefore, the separation in this article of psychological treatment from other kinds of help may appear to be artificial. However, the allocation of services as it occurs in some communities does produce the effect of a separation.

Psychological treatment for unmarried mothers is usually associated with services from voluntary agencies. For the most part it is provided by personnel--social workers, psychologists, and psychiatrists--who are oriented to a diagnostic and treatment function directed toward helping the unmarried mother to understand the emotional conflicts which presumably led to her out-of-wedlock pregnancy and to enable her to deal with the psychological problems related to the experience of unmarried motherhood. This service, usually given through verbal exchanges in individual interviews, may sometimes reduce the psychological hazards to the mother, and so may help to insure a sound plan for the baby.

Psychological treatment is available principally to clients of voluntary agencies; usually white girls who plan to relinquish their babies. It is becoming a growing feature in maternity homes which serve only about 10 percent of the unmarried mother population per year.

* * *

When this kind of programing is dictated by assumptions that pathology is all but universal among unmarried mothers and that more service is equivalent to better service, it may be open to some question. The climate of illness such an approach generates, the continuous focus on self which it encourages, and the image of the unmarried mother which it tends to project raise some doubts as to its universal helpfulness. Moreover, whether a proliferation of services in relation to a small segment of a client population constitutes the most effective allocation of a community's resources, when large numbers are scarcely receiving basic services, is another question that needs further consideration.

* * *

Conclusions

When a community is faced with the problem of allocating its resources for effective services to unmarried mothers, the overriding considerations in establishing priorities should be individual diagnosis and need and the full use of available resources. However, the distribution of services is often influenced by other factors, especially assumptions about culture and causation in relation to illegitimacy.

For example, theories about cultural influences regarding sexual permissiveness and the acceptance of illegitimacy among Negroes imply that most Negro unmarried mothers do not require the protection of shelter care. Yet this belief can be effectively challenged by the results of recent studies and by the number of Negroes who apply for shelter care when it is available to them. On the other hand, the pathology-oriented theory of causation in relation to unmarried motherhood among white middle-class girls may account for an overemphasis on psychological service for the clients of some voluntary agencies, particularly the readily accessible residents of some maternity homes.

As a community gives critical attention to its practices in allocating its resources, it may find that improvements in services to unmarried mothers will depend less on the establishment of new services than on the redistribution of existing ones. In any event, all appropriate resources and personnel--including public health nurses, neighborhood group workers, and others--should be available to all unmarried mothers in need of their services. Moreover, a start needs to be made toward developing criteria for determining who does need services, who does not, and what kinds of services are appropriate in a particular situation.

This means in effect that many agencies will need to rethink their policies and the methods to which they have long been committed and try to see themselves as part of a total community service rather than in terms of individual agency function.

* * *

Gaps in services are frequently associated with gaps in knowledge. Not much is known about the interaction between the biological factors of pregnancy and the crisis produced by out-of-wedlock pregnancy and its implications for specific therapeutic procedures during the period of crisis. Neither is much known about the potentials for growth or damage in the unmarried mother's relationship with her baby and whether the growing trend toward eliminating nurseries from maternity homes is a service or a disservice to the child or the mother.

A Guide for Collaboration of Physician, Social Worker, and Lawyer in Helping the Unmarried Mother *

The need for close cooperation between the physician, the social worker, and the lawyer in the care of the unmarried mother should be universally recognized. Each of these three is responsible for advising the unmarried mother of the need for consultation in her case with the other two disciplines involved, because each has a special field of competence. To further this cooperation, the areas in which the primary responsibilities and those in which the function of the three disciplines overlap must be delineated.

The physician is held responsible for the physical and mental health of the patient. It is the physician who must make the diagnosis of pregnancy, determine the expected date of delivery, and decide where the delivery should take place. Among other things he must decide how much information the patient should be given on the physiology and pathology of pregnancy, labor, and the puerperium. His decision on whether to advise the patient to nurse the baby (if she decides to keep him) will rest on emotional as well as physical factors.

He must safeguard the confidentiality of the information the patient discloses except as provided by the laws of his state. Recognizing the limitations placed on a minor, he must be certain of the validity of the consent the patient gives for any disclosures, treatment, or procedure. He should avoid becoming involved in any way with the placement of the infant or acting as an intermediary.

The responsibility of the social worker includes helping the unmarried mother with the distinctive social and emotional problems connected with having a child out of wedlock. To this end, the social worker draws upon the experience of social agencies in working with unmarried mothers, upon familiarity with community resources, and upon social and psychological diagnostic skills in determining what help a particular client needs and can use. Among other things this involves referring the patient for early and competent obstetrical examination, emphasizing the need for continued ante-partal and post-partal care, reinforcing the medical care by strengthening the faith of the patient in the doctor, and where possible • necessary, implementing his recommendations.

The social worker counsels the patient on plans for her future and that of the infant, always safeguarding the best interests of the child. The social worker provides psychological help and support complementing that given by the doctor. The social worker recognizes and supports the legal obligations of the doctor as to the results of treatment or advice, including professional disclosures and the peculiar problems of a minor.

The social worker counsels the unmarried mother in the various social aspects involved and recommends that she consult a lawyer for advice on the legal aspects as needed in the individual situation.

The lawyer for the unmarried mother is responsible for counseling her regarding the legal consequences of keeping or of giving up her child and of her legal rights in respect to the putative father. If she releases the child for adoption,

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he must be sure that all legal requirements are met. He should not represent the prospective adoptive parents. He should avoid becoming involved in any way with the placement of the infant or acting as an intermediary.

All three disciplines recognize the right of the unmarried mother to make decisions for herself and her child except where such rights are involuntarily terminated by court action. Likewise, all three recognize that each must give advice and guidance to her. Whether giving advice is limited to mere clarification of the alternatives between which the client must choose or extends to a firm recommendation for the course of action the patient should take, the collective counseling, like parental guidance, must be harmonious lest the unmarried mother become confused. Differences of opinion which may arise as to the advice to be given should be resolved by prior conferences.

Broad principles have been established through experience in all three professions, but philosophies vary in different communities and change from time to time not only within the same community but also within the nation.

Furthermore, each case must be individualized, particularly with reference to questions such as:

(1) Shall the parent of the patient or the putative father be told of the pregnancy?

(2) Shall the patient marry the putative father?

(3) Shall legal action be taken against him?

(4) Where shall delivery take place?

(5) Shall the putative father visit the patient before or after delivery?

(6) Shall he ever see the baby?

(7) Shall the baby be photographed and the picture made available?

(8) Shall the patient be allowed, urged, or forbidden to see her child, put him to breast, or care for him?

(9) Shall the patient have psychiatric help; if so, to whom shall she be referred?

(10) At which point in the pregnancy or puerperium shall the decision be made as to the child's future?

(11) If the decision is for adoption, how and where shall final surrender of the child be taken?

(12) Shall the mother be told of any deformity or handicap of the child and if so, when and by whom?

(13) If the matter of legal residence is involved and the possibility of non-adoptability, who shall be responsible for properly informing and counseling the unmarried mother?

When the doctor, social worker, and lawyer are mature, experienced individuals, each primarily concerned with working out the complex problems in any given case for the best interests of the child and the unmarried mother, each recognizing and respecting the responsibilities and competence of the other derived from professional training in dealing with the physical, mental, emotional, social, and legal factors involved, there rarely will be a difference of opinion. If such a difference does arise, one which cannot be resolved by a conference, genuine collaboration requires the wholehearted assistance of all three in supporting the judgment of the member of the discipline with primary responsibility, namely: for the physical and mental health of the mother and child, the doctor; for the social and emotional welfare of the mother and child, the social worker; and for the legal protection of the mother and child, the lawyer.

Approved by: The American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists (Nov. 29, 1962)
The American Academy of Pediatrics (Apr. 18, 1963)
The Child Welfare League of America (May 16, 1963)
The Children's Bureau (May 29, 1963).

SECTION IV - EDUCATIONAL APPROACHES

Casework Service for Unmarried Fathers *

Reuben Pannor
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Traditionally, in working with the problems of illegitimacy, social agencies, both public and private, have quite naturally focused their attention on the unmarried mother. The father of the child born out of wedlock remains a somewhat nebulous figure, left free to attempt to detach himself physically and emotionally from a problem in which he has been intimately involved. Generally, agencies have seen the father only if he has presented himself or has been asked to come in to contribute financially to the mother's medical expenses or the child's support.

More than 20 years ago, Maud Morlock recommended that agencies provide casework services to fathers of children born out of wedlock and that studies be made of such agency experiences, especially with reference to the skills needed in the interviews, the cooperation of the father with the agency, and the development of his interest in the child. Both the Children's Bureau and the Bureau of Family Services are continuing to advocate such a policy as does the Child Welfare League of America.

Yet a review of the literature reveals that little information about such fathers has accumulated. Assumptions about the putative father and his attitudes have usually been formulated from information and feelings expressed by unmarried mothers. The public usually pictures him as a seducer and deserter, at the same time excusing him with such clichés as "he was just sowing wild oats" or "boys will be boys." Clark E. Vincent, in his recent study of unmarried mothers, states: "Although biologically he is half the cause of illegitimacy, the ratio of studies of the unmarried father to studies of the unwed mother is approximately one to twenty-five."

While the literature contains many references pointing to the desirability of providing casework service to the father, few agencies provide such a service with the same degree of intensity of that being offered to the unwed mother. Lack of trained staff, lack of financial resources have been the primary reasons given for not involving the father in casework services. One must add to these a lack of conviction on the part of many social workers that he can be involved and perhaps some lack of conviction about the value of involving him. This lack of conviction may turn be due in part to a lack of experience in directly working with the putative fathers as well as to misconceptions about them. One frequently hears that the unmarried father's relationship to the unmarried mother is exploitative, that the relationships between unmarried parents are for the most part fleeting and of a casual nature--generalizations which derive from the public's image of the unmarried father.

In recent years, however, a few agencies have been pioneering in efforts to involve the father in casework service, not only to provide better service to the mother and to make possible better planning for the child, but also for the sake of the father himself and his future behavior and relationships. One of these agencies

* Please see inside front cover for source of article from which the above excerpts have been selected.

is Vista Del Mar, a Community Chest agency in Los Angeles, which for the past 6 years has been offering the unwed father the quality of individual help long recognized as essential for the unwed mother.

Experiences at Vista Del Mar, as well as those at St. Elizabeth's Infant Hospital in San Francisco, support its expectation that the teenage father has many of the same problems as the teenage mother. The boys to whom casework service has been provided have been found to be receptive to the help offered and to have been able to use it constructively. They have come from all social and economic walks of life.

Services Offered

Vista Del Mar began its services to the unwed father by reaching out to the teenage father who, if he did not come to the agency with the girl, was standing close by and therefore was accessible. A male caseworker was made available to the boy on the theory that he would respond more favorably to the opportunity of talking to a man because of anticipating greater understanding of his own problems and needs. The social worker could, in a sense, represent a father figure to the troubled boy.

Bringing the teenage father into the agency turned out to be less of a problem than had been expected. The boy either comes spontaneously to the agency with the girl or readily accepts an appointment when this is offered to him. In every instance his parents as well as the girl's parents are contacted by the agency, and the work done with the boy and his family parallels and is integrated with the work done with the girl and her family.

* * *

The Sexual Experience

The overwhelming majority of teenage boys seen at Vista Del Mar seem to have had some perfunctory, technical information about sex before going into a sexual relationship. Some of this information was received in school, some from parents or from literature made available by parents, and some from their friends. While the vast majority of these boys have known about contraceptives, they have seldom used them when having sexual relations. A typical response when the social worker brings up the subject is: "Yes, I know all about this, but to have used a contraceptive would have been just having sex for sex's sake and our relationship had more meaning than that." or "She just wasn't that kind of girl." When asked why he engaged in sexual relations, a boy is apt to answer: "Some of my best friends at school have been doing this, so why shouldn't I?" or "Why not?" or "I don't see anything particularly wrong with this."

Some of the teenage couples seen by the agency had had only one or two sexual experiences with each other before the girl became pregnant. Others had been having relations for a period of months, and a few for as long as a year. When asked by the social worker, "What did your sexual experiences mean?" Most of the boys have responded, like Robert, "To tell you the truth it was a very disappointing experience." But they were not able to admit to their friends that the experience had been disappointing, unsatisfactory, and depressing.

* * *

Work With the Boy

In each case the social worker carefully discusses with the boy the implications of his attitude toward sex. He answers their questions, but takes a firm position with them about their responsibility for their acts and in no way condones their sexual behavior. He points out to them the reasons why they should not en-

gage in premarital intercourse, discussing the differences between teenage love and a more mature and genuine relationship between people ready to meet the problems and responsibilities of adulthood together. He particularly stresses the responsibilities that go with parenthood and their basis in the need of every child for a stable and secure home.

The social worker points out not only the obvious risks of engaging in premarital intercourse, such as acquiring a venereal disease or impregnating a girl-- dangers that most of the boys are well aware of--but also the risk of impairing later sexual adjustment in marriage. Most of the boys seem genuinely concerned about achieving a good marital relationship in later life.

When the responsibilities associated with fatherhood are discussed with these teenage boys, the overwhelming implication of what they are involved in suddenly seems to dawn on them. Occasionally a boy is seen who has not previously been told of the pregnancy or who, while well aware of the girl's problem, has not emotionally received the message that he is about to become a father.

"Me, a father!" said one 15-year-old boy. "You're kidding." Others have said over and over, "I just can't believe it."

At Vista Del Mar teenage fathers are usually given the opportunity to see the babies either at the hospital or at the agency. They react with both disbelief and concern: "Did I really produce that?" "I can't believe it's real." "Is it getting good care?"

Many of the boys stare at their baby as though transfixed. One boy became disturbed because his baby had a facial rash and insisted on calling this to the attention of the nurse. Another wanted to hold and fondle his baby.

Having seen his baby makes the boy sharply aware of the reality of the problems resulting from his sexual behavior. The responsibilities involved suddenly hit him with tremendous impact. Frequently he asks for assurance that the baby will receive the best possible care. The discussion of his future aspirations, the meaning of his relationship with the girl, marriage, and the alternatives possible in planning for the baby from then on take on greater meaning for him.

Work With Parents

The experiences at Vista Del Mar have shown that the parents of unwed teenagers involved in a pregnancy recognize the tremendous implications of the fact that a child is to be born out of wedlock, and realize that they are faced with a most serious problem requiring immediate attention. Recognizing their need for help, the agency actively extends its services to both the girl and the boy. In this process, the parents are encouraged to state clearly what they will or will not be able to do to help the teenagers.

* * *

The Older Unmarried Father

A logical extension of working with teenage unwed parents and their families is to offer this service to older unmarried fathers. Agencies which have done so have found in many unmarried fathers a constellation of personal problems that are often deep seated and of long duration: an underlying fear of marriage and the responsibilities of fatherhood; a loss of confidence in their masculinity resulting in a need to prove its existence; a realization that the illicit relationship can have no permanency and no real direction and therefore offers no security.

Contrary to general expectations, at Vista Del Mar we have found the older unmarried father to be as accessible and amenable, if not more so, than the teenage unmarried father. This is due in part to the fact that the older unmarried father is generally more aware than the teenager of the serious implications of an out-of-wedlock pregnancy. The fact that someone is genuinely interested in helping him grapple with some of his feelings and find a constructive way to meet the problem in which he has played a major role has opened the door to his participation in working toward its resolution.

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The married man who has a child by a woman other than his wife has serious problems to cope with relating to his marriage as well as to his concept of himself.

* * *

Conclusion

Such work with unmarried fathers has revealed that they have considerably more feelings about their illegitimate offsprings and the mothers of these children than has heretofore been recognized. Moreover, the fact that the California State Department of Social Welfare is advising agencies to be cognizant of the rights of the unmarried father in relation to his child suggests that the claims made in courts for out-of-wedlock children by their fathers are significant. If the child of an unmarried father is not released for adoption, the father's rights need to be clarified. The place of the child in the father's life has to be given consideration as well as the financial arrangements he should make on behalf of the child.

Public assistance agencies especially need to work out a better understanding of the mechanisms and theory of support of illegitimate children by their fathers and the relationship of law enforcement to this problem. A climate of services must be an integral part of the approach.

* * *

Research studies on fathers of illegitimate children should, on the whole, parallel studies being done on unmarried mothers.

The School and Unmarried Mothers *

Jerry L. Kelley
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University of Washington

Nearly all states have compulsory education laws. In most States, these laws require young people to attend school until they reach the age of 16, and permit them to attend until they are 18 or 21, or until they finish high school. In practice, these laws have been interpreted to mean that provision must be made for the continued education of all children through grade 12. Not exempted are the slow, the maimed, and the blind. One group only is often overlooked or deliberately excluded. This consists of the teenage girls who are already mothers or who are about to become mothers--many of them without benefit of marriage. Whether or not State education laws apply to these young people varies with the States or is left up to local school systems to determine as they see fit. Yet these young mothers--in spite of the manifestations of their physical maturity--are legally, well as mentally and emotionally, still children. They are obviously as badly in need of education as other teenagers, if not more so.

Information is not available on the nature or the extent of all educational opportunities for unwed mothers. It is clear, however, that some States have directly contradicted the comprehensiveness of their educational objectives with regulations or practices which exclude girls who are pregnant or who have already had a child. Many States by law or regulation deny educational opportunities to out-of-State girls who are seeking anonymity away from home. Some even forbid local school systems to make special provisions for any unwed mother. Such restrictions deriving presumably from moralistic and punitive attitudes, may actually be self-defeating, for society will be the loser if these girls' problems are compounded by continued ignorance.

The schools, in spite of the constant criticism they receive, do represent an avenue for transmitting society's standards of moral behavior. For unmarried mothers--especially those under 16--some continuity of school experience may be not only an opportunity for receiving a much needed education but also the only real hope of staying out of trouble. Such girls usually release their babies for adoption or turn them over to their own mothers for support and care. These girls are too young for jobs, even if they wish to remain out of school. Hence all adult roles are denied to them. They have no peer group available, no means of support, no raison d'être. And they are vulnerable to further overtures from boys who themselves run no equivalent risks.

For the older unmarried mother who will be seeking employment after delivery, vocational guidance and training are extremely important. These functions are traditional school functions.

The social-educational responsibilities of schools may be debatable, but the social influence is not. Parsons stresses the fact that school is not only a vital agency for helping young people adapt to society, but also a channel through which they select their future status in society. Thus when an unmarried mother must forego further education, the chances for her social improvement are diminished.

All young people need the experience of achievement. According to Vincent, many unmarried mothers have not had this experience, have not even been free to

* Please see inside front cover for source of article from which these excerpts have been selected.

fail while trying, and hence have developed a "paralysis of workmanship." They postpone, partially complete, retreat, or are unable to decide. Nowhere is this as manifest nor as crucial as in school.

The pressure mounts in the later school years. As Parsons has pointed out, the elementary school tends to focus on the level of capacity; the secondary school focuses on qualitative achievement. The unsure, the work-paralyzed student is increasingly conspicuous. Although research indicates that social success has the highest status for the teenage girl, there is reason to believe that social status itself is partially dependent upon reasonable academic success. Those girls who cannot achieve academically may try to achieve socially by attempting to demonstrate their adequacy and success in sexual and reproductive roles. Such girls need individual attention to help them with their learning problems.

Many unmarried mothers are especially lacking in the skills of communication. Without attending school they have no further opportunity for learning these skills.

Fear is undoubtedly one of the major factors behind the community pressures which result in unmarried mothers being excluded from school, fear that sexual activity will be sanctioned, hence encouraged. But since the boys involved are rarely, if ever, excluded from school, the protection afforded others by putting the luckless girls "out of sight and out of mind" seems somewhat illusory. A far greater protection for the girl, the boy, and their schoolmates would be efforts on the part of the school system to help her, and the rest of the students to reach a greater understanding of the world in which they are a part. This requires a comprehensive and variegated program aimed at providing continuity of education for all children until they finish high school--including girls who are pregnant and those who have delivered, whether or not they keep their babies.

Identification and Referral

Besides their obligation to help the unmarried mother to continue her education, the schools have a responsibility for helping the pregnant student to receive the medical and social services she needs. The school, more than any other community agency, is in the most favorable position for finding the scared, pregnant girl early in her pregnancy and directing her to the appropriate community services.

The identification and referral process is not an easy one, for it requires protection of the girl from curiosity and gossip without condonement of the action which brought her to her present state. It is often hampered by the girl's own fear of being found out in a situation she knows must eventually be discovered, but which out of panic she often tries to hide as long as possible. In many schools, identification is further hampered by a regulation that requires a pregnant girl to be dropped from school as soon as her pregnancy is known.

The school nurse can play a major role in the identification and referral process. If the nurse has a good relationship with the students, and in her behavior toward them has built up a reputation of professional integrity, the troubled girl is apt to go to her with her problem, as she has with the aches and pains she has suffered from time to time. The school social worker--if there is one--has responsibility for working closely with the nurse and the teacher in identifying the girl whose behavior indicates that she is troubled, for making the actual referrals to the appropriate community agencies, and for following through to see what arrangements can be made for the girl's continued schooling as well as for meeting her other needs. Unfortunately, few schools make any consistent attempt to learn what happens to the pregnant girl after she leaves school.

There is no provision for followup if the girl has passed compulsory school age.

Therefore, most schools do not even know how many of their school dropouts have left school because of pregnancy.

Instruction During Pregnancy

Even if schools cannot allow pregnant girls in their classrooms, they can--in some instances do--provide continued educational opportunities for them. In a few places--Portland, Oregon, for example--the school systems include pregnant girls who live at home or in foster homes in their special programs of instruction. Some school systems, as in Seattle, Washington, Toledo, Ohio, and Portland, Oregon, taking advantage of facilities which make it possible to reach the girls in groups, send teachers to maternity homes.

* * *

These programs have revealed the meaning that continued schooling can have for girls, pregnant out of wedlock. Frances Miller, supervisor of the program for the physically handicapped of the Portland public school system, has noted that "school-work seems to be the one stabilizing influence for a meaningful and purposeful activity when a pregnant girl feels overwhelmed by a multitude of problems."

* * *

Many people assume that schools offer educational opportunities to girls who have given up their babies for adoption, the girls returning to their regular schools for instruction. Such, however, is not always the case. Burchinal in his study of married students in Iowa reports: "generally girls who were pregnant prior to marriage are not permitted to re-enter school automatically. About one-third of the schools would not even consider re-entering." These findings are, of course, also germane to unmarried mothers.

Post Partum Instruction

However, in Portland and Seattle girls are encouraged to return to regular public schools after delivery. They may choose their previous school or a different one. Moreover, in Seattle girls who were high school seniors while studying at the Crittenton Home are allowed to return to the home after the birth of their baby to finish their schooling, if graduation time is near.

But what happens if the new mother with no husband decides to keep her child? She is, perhaps, the most educationally neglected of all. The choice of keeping her child (or necessity because of lack of other opportunities) is most often made by the nonwhite girl of low economic status and deprived cultural background, who, even more than others, needs help and encouragement in securing further education. The poorly educated deprived girls are the most likely to be links in chains of generations of unmarried mothers. They are also the most likely to have more children out of wedlock.

Philadelphia is the scene of an unusual experiment to provide educational opportunities to such girls. There the public school system and the Berean Institute, a voluntary agency, are collaborating in a program which provides both instruction in child care and vocational education to teenage unmarried mothers. The mothers bring their children by public transportation to the agency each day. The institute provides a day-care program for the babies while the mothers attend classes--in stenography, beauty culture, and academic subjects taught by a teacher provided by the board of education as a part of its extension education service. The mothers take care of their children's needs, including the feeding, and are on call for emergencies related to their babies.

* * *

The Personnel

Providing for the education of unmarried mothers obviously calls for the co-operative efforts of educators and social workers in schools, in school extension programs, in maternity homes, and in other social agencies.

* * *

However, if the members of these professions are to succeed in helping the unmarried mother to educational achievement, they need some affinity for interdisciplinary collaboration. The school social worker must have basic respect for education and be determined to increase the educability of each child by helping him with his social problems. On the other side of the coin, the teacher in the maternity home must believe in the power of education to facilitate the social rehabilitation of her students.

* * *

Prevention

Preventive efforts are even more important than remedial measures in attacking any social problem. But the subject of prevention in relation to illegitimacy is both a nebulous and a sensitive one. Pregnancy before marriage does not lend itself to prediction. It is not in itself a social or emotional disorder, although in many instances it is a symptom of a disorder. Therefore, efforts to prevent social disorder may result in the prevention of some potential out-of-wedlock pregnancies.

One possibility is sex education. This is a touchy subject which is often discussed with more heat than light. While many people apparently have strong feelings about the appropriate time, place, and method for giving information about sex to young people, little, if anything, is actually known about the comparative effectiveness of various approaches. In fact, very little is known about the relationship of incomplete or distorted sex information to pregnancy among unmarried teenage girls. Here again research is needed to supplant opinion. We may find, for example, that unmarried mothers have received more rather than less sex information than others, but they may have received it from the wrong sources and in a distorted form.

Another possibility lies in greater efforts to inculcate moral and ethical values in young people through the regular school programs. Derthick has urged the schools to do more in this area. He has received, by implication, support from Vincent, who has written at length about the place of current educational methods in promoting a "fun morality"--the idea that all things are better if they are fun. Can the schools find better ways of educating for nonfun morality? Should they, if they can? Will the incidence of unmarried motherhood decrease through this means?

The Community's Part in Preventing Illegitimacy *

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The problem of illegitimacy stems from complex personal and sociocultural factors. It involves young and middle-aged men and women, intelligent and mentally deficient, educated and uneducated, white and nonwhite, rich and poor. Therefore, coping effectively with this problem requires a broad range of treatment approaches and of community services which take into account its many aspects and their relation to individual and social adjustment. The community has a responsibility not only to help those involved in the problem but also to move toward prevention of unmarried parenthood within this broad and dynamic framework.

Acceptance of this responsibility implies the examination of certain key sociocultural factors associated with illegitimacy. They include poverty, migration, urbanization, lack of education, weak or ambivalently held moral standards, faulty parent-child relationships, social and emotional deprivation, and emotional disturbance or immaturity.

Recently, there has been increasing awareness of the possible relationship of the conflicts, ambiguities, and discontinuities in our social mores to the increase in illegitimacy. For example, a growing acceptance in the population as a whole of the naturalness of sex as a basic human drive is reflected in a seeming preoccupation with sex in the media of communication and in advertising. There seems to be widespread tolerance of extramarital sexual intercourse--as long as there is no baby. Then, the tendency to censure sexual behavior only when there are visible manifestations, and then only to censure one-half of the offending couple--the woman--further the uncertainty and confusion in relation to society's standards.

* * *

Community Participation

A broad program of prevention to be effective must include the participation of all sectors of the community--the professional including legal, religious, and school personnel, as well as social workers, doctors, and nurses--representatives of community organizations and parents and teenagers. Its form may vary, according to community needs, from collaboration on specific projects to formal organizational relationships. In any event, its activities should proceed from a common understanding of the objectives of health and welfare services in general and of the services specifically designed for unmarried parents; and on the basis of accurate information about the extent and nature of the needs, the effectiveness of existing services in meeting the needs, the gaps in services, and projections for the expansion of services. Its functioning will require a free and reciprocal flow of communication within both the professional and lay communities, and across all sections of the community; and the development or identification of a mechanism to assume leadership in interpreting the program to the community; to settle questions of social and professional policies; and to move toward the improvement of the community's health, welfare, educational, and employment services, the establishment of new services, the coordination of services, and the assessment of programs in relation to changing needs.

* Please see inside front cover for source of article from which these excerpts have been selected.

The Berean Parental, Vocational, Educational, Program
Exerpts from the Fourth Progress Report - November 30, 1963

Presented by Mrs. Cornelia Biddle, Director

This Report of the Berean Parent-Vocational-Educational Program for young unmarried girls and their babies will cover the period from September 1962 through November 1963. Prior to the September date, the Program had operated on private funds supplied by the Seybert Foundation.

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Because of the very positive aspects of the Program which had operated successfully under this small and capable team, a grant was obtained from the U.S. Children's Bureau for continuance and extension (1962). This grant, received by the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare, was allocated and is administered through the Philadelphia Department of Public Welfare, which has contracted with Berean Institute to continue provision of vocational studies. The objectives of the Program as stated in the grant are: "to provide a comprehensive social welfare program for unwed mothers who have dropped out of school - a program including social casework and parental, vocational and educational training."

* * *

This feeling of chaos that we all experienced was due not only to the transition from one stage to another; it was due to the fact that in actuality we are dealing with a triple-folded problem and challenge. We are trying to forge an action program for Adolescents who are School-Drop-Outs because they have become mothers although not married.

* * *

ADOLESCENTS - Seeing the girls in a group, one is forcibly convinced by the noise, the rock and roll talk, the gum-chewing, the seeming denial of any concern beyond the immediate moment that these are indeed adolescents. But as one becomes familiar with each girl, an awareness develops of the fact that the conflicts and pressures (internal and external) which are common to all adolescents have, in this girl's case been intensified by the many traumatic or depriving or frustrating or just plain bleak experiences of her life. And - even in the group - one often senses beneath the uproar a note of depression and apathy and an expectation of disappointment.

Probably related to this and even more pronounced is another characteristic of these girls - a characteristic about which much has been written in the literature on adolescence. With rare exceptions, we encounter in them a lack of a "sense of identity." This shows itself in many ways. It shows in an insistence on living in the moment and an inability to realistically dream of a future.

* * *

SCHOOL DROP-OUTS - In one Child Care Class, the leader was trying to elicit from the girls means, other than corporal punishment, of teaching their children and, since the aim of the class was to think on different levels - i.e., in terms of the girls as well as of their babies - she asked them to write about some person in their own lives who had really helped them and to illustrate the means by which this had been accomplished. No papers were forthcoming. When questioned, one girl volunteered that she could think of no one. "No teacher?" With the exception of one other girl, nobody could think of a teacher who had given encouragement in all of their school experiences. And this girl related that a teacher had once said to her, "You might do all right in a Commercial Course." She added, "And here I am. And I am doing all right."

Usually one thinks of the school experience as the prime area in which to develop a sense of identity - of who I am, what I can master, what I can feel proud of in myself. Perhaps the girls in our Program could not have used the help of any encouraging person because the feeling of selflessness was already too built in. But since "School-Drop-Outs" are currently of major concern, one might consider the possibility of more personal encouragement and interest.

* * *

Most of our girls had had good elementary school records. It seems that it was on entrance into Junior High School for some or into Senior High School for others that danger signals (poor attendance, drops in marks) began to show.

* * *

UNMARRIED MOTHERS - Whether their unsatisfying personal relations and their bleak early life experiences have made it impossible for the girls we know to utilize the services of existing social institutions (primarily the school) for the development of a sense of identity or whether the schools are unable - for many understandable reasons - to offer realistic means for this development, the fact remains that in the lives of the girls we know the pregnancies seem an inevitable final step. Although the babies add realistic burdens, there are times when we feel that this final step was a positive rather than a negative one in the young mother's development. If we view all illegitimate births as reprehensible social deviations, then we must look closely into the underlying causes - social as well as psychological.

The girls who apply to P.V.E. Program have no record of promiscuity. They are naive about many matters pertaining to sexuality. The relationships to the putative fathers have, with few exceptions, been strong and have provided pleasure and relief from drab realities.

At times, it seems as though the babies provide a way for the girls to finally find themselves. Certainly one need only watch on the face of a girl whose mother is holding her baby the mixed expressions of yearning, hope, pride and envy to realize that one meaning of the baby is of "a second chance."

* * *

We have been asked many times, "But how can teen-agers be good mothers?" We don't know the prescription for all the ingredients required for readiness for maternity, but certainly the feeling that one's child is an extension of self into the future would seem to be an important one.

Besides, despite occasional playful lapses and natural expressions of irritation at the additional burden, the girls show a great sense of responsibility for their little ones. They earn our continued respect for the effort they put into bringing the babies to school well-dressed and neat. This is often at the expense of the young mother's own breakfast and appearance. But to use public transportation and to arrive promptly with baby, bottles, and books requires a sacrifice. Is this not another indication of "maternal readiness"?

* * *

Obvious throughout this report has been recognition of the importance of close teamwork of the staff in an Action Program of this sort. Each member of the staff is in intimate contact with the girls and the babies and the definition of roles along with recognition of the equal importance of each is essential.

Besides, each member must be constantly aware that she is living the values in which she believes. The girls learn much through their observation of the staff's standards of punctuality, neatness, responsibility. They learn much from observing the Staff with the babies and particularly from observing courtesy and understanding and tolerance towards others. In members of the Staff hopefully they will find new images with which to identify and hence to strengthen their own sense of identity.

But it must be honestly acknowledged that for any Staff genuinely interested in helping toward the achievement of a goal such as ours, the experience is exhausting. The emotional exhaustion far exceeds the physical for with recognition of the deep needs of these girls comes the fear that one cannot give enough.

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When a girl who had previously said "Who would ever want me?" comes to our Housemother and proudly shows a dress she has beautifully completed and another is elected to the Student Council, we know that steps have been taken toward strengthening a sense of assurance. The greater the feeling of inner assurance and satisfaction, the greater the capacity to give. We believe that the babies will ultimately profit from this greater assurance as well as the young mothers. Hopefully, our next report will carry corroboration of this belief.

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The Abington Plan

A PRACTICAL SOLUTION TO A PERTINENT PROBLEM *

Mrs. Alice C. Green
Home and School Visitor
School District of Abington Township

The concern of the schools with the many facets of the Drop-Out problem has brought to the front the facet of the teen-age girls and pregnancy. This problem has existed for some time and was pushed aside but we cannot say it was not recognized.

Recently there were two conferences discussing the needs and programs for pregnant girls. The first was at the International Association of Pupil Personnel Workers Convention in Baltimore. The audience was asked if anyone had any practical programs going. This group was composed of people from all over the United States, Canada, and as far west as Vancouver, British Columbia. Abington School District's attempt to cope with this problem was presented and created much interest.

The Abington Plan -- In January 1964, the School Superintendent came to the school social worker, asking what could be done to help this group of "Drop-Outs." Homebound instruction seemed the best answer at that time but if the numbers needing homebound instruction increased, we might try some sort of classroom program. The first step was to visit the parents of the girls. Find out how they would react and also to see how the students felt about this for the understanding was that those on

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the program would be expected to return to school as soon as physically able. A second hurdle was to get the approval of the Department of Public Instruction because usually they would not approve a homebound program for pregnancy.

The parents were most receptive to the idea. The girls agreed, whether it was out of a strong desire to complete their education or to somehow make up to their parents for the embarrassment they had caused them.

We sent several requests to the Department of Public Instruction for approval for Homebound Instruction for Pregnancy. All were returned, marked "Denied." Finally one came back telling us that if we wished to give homebound instruction at our own expense we could. This meant that there would be no reimbursement for the tutors from the State. This was what we needed to get started.

The Superintendent then went to the School Board and presented his ideas. They were in accord not even questioning the expense this type of program might involve.

A conference was held with the Director of Pupil Personnel Services, the Director of Special Education and the Director of School Nursing Service and the school social worker. It was decided that the social worker would be the liaison between the home, student and school.

Three subjects would be offered (this was what other types of homebound students received). The girls that were seniors and needed a fourth subject to graduate would have to have their parents bear the cost of the tutor for the extra subject. The three subjects would offer four hours of tutoring each week. The teachers were picked with great care for the success of the program depended on their attitude toward these girls. We had one building on half-day sessions, so we were fortunate in having teachers willing to help.

We soon found that a program set up for one girl did not work for another. The time element was a factor - how long could she stay in her regular classes? When would she be able to return? What curriculum was each girl taking? What was her grade level? Our girls ranged from ages 14 to 19, in grades 9 through 12 and embracing intellectual levels from slow learners to College Preparatory. They came from low income as well as from above average income families. Only three were from a minority ethnic group. Out-of-wedlock pregnancy occurs, regardless of race, creed or color.

The program got under way about the middle of January. The school social worker visited each home and obtained a signed request from the parent for the homebound instruction. It was necessary to have a form completed by the attending physician, giving his permission for the girl to be on the program. Some of the girls had been out of school for two months. It was necessary for them to make up their work and take their mid-year exams before starting the second semester's work.

The school social worker continued to visit the homes on the average of once a month. This was done for several reasons: to boost morale and let the girls know that we were right behind them; to find out how the lessons were going; were there any problems with the teachers? At times the parents needed someone to talk to because there were problems or questions that they did not wish to discuss with a friend or minister. It was necessary to refer to sources of legal and medical nature.

Sixteen girls were interviewed about the program. Eight took full advantage of it. Those under compulsory school attendance age had no choice. Of these eight, two were able to graduate and get their diplomas, the other six are all back in school completing their education. This is possible because some of the girls placed their babies for adoption and the married ones have someone in the family caring for the

child while the mother is in school.

The other eight girls who did not participate had various reasons for not doing so. One girl had been out of school since September and by January there was too much work to be made up. It was better she wait for another year. Five of the girls moved and were no longer in the school district. Another was sent to the Florence Crittenton Home. The remaining one had tried to quit school at sixteen by getting married. This didn't work and she was made to continue. She became pregnant after several months and by that time she was seventeen and wanted "no more of school."

Upon returning to school, the girls entered the school where they had been previously enrolled, for in this school district there is only one high school. There was no alternative. During homebound instruction each girl was kept on an attendance roll, being assigned to a home room. She was counted present for each week as long as the teacher was able to give her the required tutoring time and her assignments. Each student was to return to school after confinement as soon as her doctor said she might. This varied from one week to four weeks. They did not take gym until after six weeks.

The girls found homebound instruction much harder than class work. They had a week's homework to do on their own. There were no teachers to help each day if they couldn't find the answers. They took the same exams as the rest of their class. The classroom teacher and the homebound teacher kept in close contact.

The girls were very pleased with what they had done but admitted that the first few days back at school were rather "tough." They didn't know whether they could "take it" or not. There were a few unkind remarks made by students but no emotional or attendance problems developed.

Since going back to school, each girl feels that the Health Course offered in 12th grade should be given in grade 9. The information taught is good but given too late. The "graduates" of this program have offered to talk to their classmates about their experiences, because they have found many of the other girls, who are looking for an excuse to get out of school, feel that marriage and a baby would be a cinch. As one of the young married mothers told me, "They don't know the baby has to be fed at 2 a.m., 6 a.m. and about washing diapers."

Public opinion has varied greatly in the acceptance of this program. The father of one of the girls felt we shouldn't spend taxpayers' money. "She had gotten herself into this situation and shouldn't be helped." Some of the teachers indicated that they did not feel these girls should have this opportunity. The school nursing staff was a little wary about these girls being in the building. "There might be complications." The girls generally remained until the fifth month, not taking physical education classes. This program shows what can be done in both a rural-suburban or urban area if funds and interest are sufficient.

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INTERESTING NOTES ON HIGH SCHOOL MARRIAGES - from preliminary reports of research on high school marriages being done by Vladimir de Lissovoy, Ph.D., Associate Professor, Department of Child Development and Family Relationships, College of Home Economics, Pennsylvania State University:

The data from the sample, which represented 79.75% of all schools in the State containing grades 10, 11, and 12, suggests that of all female dropouts in grades 10 to 12, one-third are accounted for by married girls, while .65 of one per cent of enrollment in grades 10 to 12 were married. In a study of 48 married couples who were in high school at the time of marriage, Dr. de Lissovoy found that 40 of the girls had been pregnant before marriage, and two had thought they were pregnant. In eight of these marriages, both husband and wife work full time, and in 19, the husband works full time. Nine were supported entirely through public assistance and four partially.

SECTION V - SOCIAL CLIMATE

Value Contradictions *

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My concluding remarks are organized around four points, each of which is so simple and obvious as to be taken for granted and, consequently, overlooked. The first point was well stated over 20 years ago by Robert Lynd: "Trying to live by contrasting rules of the game (is) one of the most characteristic aspects of our American culture." Most games are easier to play if there is one set of rules agreed upon by the players, but there is no one commonly agreed upon set of rules by which we regulate our behavior. At best, we are engaged for a lifetime in reconciling diverse interpretations of, if not actual variations in, the rules. Consider for a moment the contradictions involved in just two of Lynd's illustrations. He notes that we believe that "children are a blessing. But (we believe that) you should not have more children than you can afford." Also, we believe that "women are the finest of God's creatures. But (it is still implicitly believed by many that women) are usually inferior to men in reasoning power and general ability."

To further illustrate contradictions in the rules or standards by which we live, we may note that not only were societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals established prior to societies for prevention of cruelty to children, but one argument that was used to implement the SPCAs was that there were laws supporting the SPCAs and that children were at least animals. We might also speculate on what we would find if we compared the lobbying activity and funds expended currently on behalf of animals and those expended on behalf of children.

The second point I wish to make, which is frequently overlooked, is that all social problems (abortion, illegitimacy, etc.) are formally caused by value judgments. Without the value judgment that these phenomena are bad, they would not be regarded as problems. If we did not have some value judgments about the goodness of legitimate parenthood, illicit parenthood would not be a problem. In fact, by definition, it would not exist. The implication of this second point is that we need increased awareness of whose value judgments define which phenomena as bad or undesirable.

The third point was cogently expressed in the 1930's by Willard Waller, who observed that the reason social problems are not solved is that people do not want to solve them. More specifically, social problems are not solved because, to do so, we must change some ideas or social practices that we prefer not to change.

The fourth point is almost inseparable from the third: Any change made in a society as complex and interrelated as ours has not one but many results, some of which will be undesirable to those making the initial change that produce the re-

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sults. Thus, the same industrialization that makes possible better medical care brings with it the smog that increases respiratory ailments. The same automation that decreases the work week may increase the number of the unemployed. And improved services to unmarried fathers may stimulate concern over their rights.

These four simple, obvious facts of life weave a web that ensnares many a well-intentioned effort to resolve social problems. They must be examined constantly and rigorously as conditions affecting every suggestion and action proposed.

This is a moment when the answer to any question is likely to lie in a committee report or else the magic word "research." At the risk of announcing some premature findings, without benefit of committee or prolonged research, I venture to suggest that some of the major factors behind family problems are already well known. They include inadequate schools; crowded living conditions; ill health, physical and mental; poverty; the steady pressures, humiliations, and hostilities under which racial and ethnic minorities live; the influence of a culture which makes much of technique and little of ideas and purposes; and not least, the unresolved paradoxes of a moral outlook which at one and the same time connects sex with sin, uses sex to sell its products, and teaches its young to regard a strong attraction for a person of the opposite sex as something quasi-supernatural which can conquer all and excuse all. Something has to give, and what gives, in most cases, is the individual's belief that he has been taught any standards by which he can live.

Dr. Charles Frankel, professor of philosophy, Columbia University, to the 1962 forum of the National Conference on Social Welfare.

